



THE
LIVINGSTON
GROUP, L.L.C.

#5356

DISSEMINATION

for client file: A.K. CAPITAL, NHB

RECEIVED
JAN 12 11 19

Hon. Robert M. Gates
Secretary of Defense
1000 Defense Pentagon
Washington, DC, 20301

Dear Mr. Secretary,

The urgency of the attached messages will lose their impact if I wait for a personal visit, so I am taking the liberty of transmitting these via email to you in order to get them to your attention as quickly as possible.

Monday afternoon, I was visited by a former Congressman who is and has been very close to the leadership of South Korea for many years. The enclosures are not from any established or current leadership of the Korean government and as such are not classified material. They are letters addressed to President Obama, signed by retired Korean Military Officers and Civilians of significant rank and intended to be transmitted through you. The transmittals reflect their great concern that the Korean Military is unprepared to assume primary control of the defense of South Korea independent of US support in the near future. I understand that the messages have also been presented to the State Department through the American Ambassador to Korea.

Please review the materials and consider them as you develop strategic plans for the Korean peninsula in the months ahead.

With great appreciation and best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely,

Robert L. Livingston
Member of Congress (Retired)

The Livingston Group
499 South Capitol St., SW
Suite 600
Washington, DC, 20003

[REDACTED]

2010 JUN 24 12:12 PM
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

May 25, 2009

His Excellency Mr. Barack H. Obama
The President of the United States of America

Dear Mr. President:

I would like to convey to Your Excellency our deepest respect and appreciation for your superb leadership and great efforts in surmounting the global economic crisis and urgent security challenges. Members of the organizations for national security in the Republic of Korea (ROK) including the Korean Veterans Association (KVA) and Korea Retired Generals and Admirals Association (KRGAA) are very much grateful to you in this regard.

The ROK-US Alliance defended freedom and democracy of the ROK from North Korean communists' invasion during the Korean War and has been the locomotive for the ROK to become world 13th economic power. Therefore, the ROK-US Alliance has been regarded as the most successful alliance in the world history.

As you are well aware of, the Korean Peninsula has still been in a truce and North Korea has never changed its strategy of communizing the entire Korean Peninsula. Recently, North Korea launched missiles and conducted a nuclear test despite strong oppositions from the world community and the Korean people. Moreover, since the inauguration of the incumbent government of President Lee, Myung-bak, North Korea has heightened tension not only on the Korean Peninsula and but also in Northeast Asia by launching a long-range missile that can reach US military bases in Hawaii, Guam, and Okinawa and also by announcing to unilaterally scrap previous inter-Korean agreements. We consider these acts very dangerous as these are obviously against the world peace and security.

In this unstable security environment, the previous administration of then President Roh with very low people's approval rates demanded the Wartime OPCON Transfer in the name of regaining the national sovereignty, which was a false argument. Regrettably, at the ROK-US Defense Ministerial Meeting in February 2007, it was agreed that the ROK Forces will solely exercise the Wartime OPCON from April 17,

2012 by transferring it from the Combined Forces Command (CFC) to the Republic of Korea.

For the last half century, the Combined Forces Command has successfully deterred a war and preserved peace on the Korean Peninsula. However, in case the ROK Forces solely take the Wartime OPCON, dismantlement of the CFC will be inevitable, which could lead to weaken the symbol of the ROK-US Alliance. Thus, this move might invite North Korea's miscalculation and unstable security situation on the Korean Peninsula. In this situation, reunification of the Korean Peninsula based on the free democratic system would be very difficult.

We are certainly aware that the USA is perusing military policy changes in Northeast Asia based on Global Posture Review. However, under this difficult security situation on the Korean Peninsula, we are confident that the Wartime OPCON Transfer will not promote not only the security on this peninsula but also US national interests.

In the early 1990s, based on 'Nunn-Warner Amendment,' the US Government pronounced 'East Asia Strategic Initiative' as its official policy to reduce the US Forces Korea in three phases. However, as the first nuclear crisis with North Korea aroused in 1992, the US policy was officially scraped in February 1995. Therefore, it is our firm belief that the sole exercise of the Wartime OPCON by the ROK Forces can be considered just when a peace regime is securely managed without any risk of war on the Korean Peninsula and the ROK Forces possess the war capabilities needed for high-tech modern warfare.

There have been loud voices in unison against the dismantlement of the CFC from senior members of the ROK military community who fought together with fellow US soldiers in the Korean War, Vietnam War, and Iraq War including Retired General Paik, Sun-Yup, former Defense Ministers, Chairmen of Joint Chiefs of Staff, Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, Commandants of the Marine Corps, and Deputy Commanders of the CFC. Therefore, most of the ROK retired generals are opposing the Wartime OPCON Transfer Plan. Opinion polls show that 66.3 % of the people are opposing the transfer plan.

In an effort to postpone the dismantlement of the CFC, a signature seeking campaign

against the OPCON Transfer Plan has been under way with the goal of collecting ten million signatures. Some 227 civil and religious organizations are engaged in the campaign such as the Korean Veterans Association, Korea Retired Generals and Admirals Association, Korean National Police Veterans Association, Free Citizen's Alliance of Korea, and Protestant, Buddhist, Roman Catholic groups. Currently we have secured 7,500,000 signatures. We are likely to reach our goal of ten million signatures in the near future.

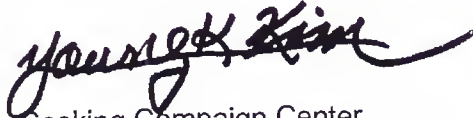
We have already delivered our recommendation to President Lee, Myung-bak, who had made a campaign pledge to postpone the transfer plan, that it is never right time to dismantle the CFC and that we should postpone it until North Korea's nuclear threat is resolved and inter-Korean military trust is established. We also asked H.E. Kathleen Stephens, US Ambassador to the ROK and General Walter Sharp, Commander of the CFC, to make a recommendation to H.E. President Obama that we should postpone the dismantlement of the CFC.

In particular, it is our earnest hope that this issue will be smoothly adjusted for the national interests of our two nations in the upcoming summit talk in June 2009.

May God Bless Your Excellency and the United States of America!

Respectfully yours,

Admiral (Ret.) Kim, Young-Kwan



Chairman of Ten-Million Signature Seeking Campaign Center
Against North Korea's Nuclear Weapons and Dismantlement of the CFC

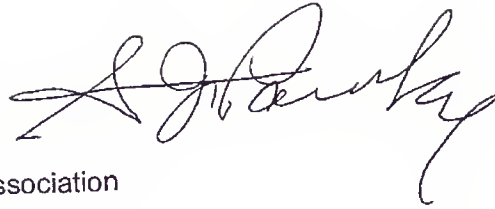
Also with:

GEN(Ret.) Paik, Sun-Yup

Former Chief of Staff, ROK Army



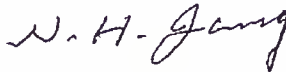
Major General (Ret.) Park, Seh-Jik
Chairman of the Korean Veterans Association



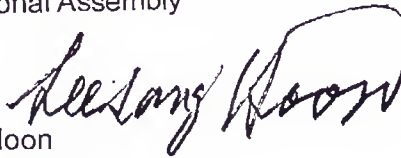
General (Ret.) Lee, Jong-Koo
President of Korea Retired Generals and Admirals Association



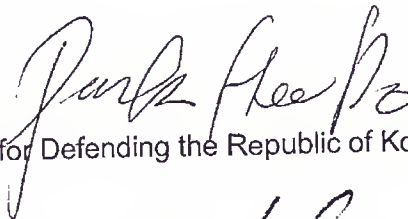
Lieutenant General (Ret.) Jung, Rae-Hyuk
Former Speaker of the National Assembly



General (Ret.) Lee, Sang-Hoon
Former Minister of National Defense



General (Ret.) Park, Hee-Do
Chairman of the Buddhists' Allies for Defending the Republic of Korea



Dr. Kim, Hyun-Wook
Former Chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Reunification Committee of the National Assembly



General (Ret.) Kim, Sang-Tae
Former Chief of Staff, Air Force



Chief Superintendant General (Ret.) Koo, Jai-Tai
President of Korean National Police Veterans Association



Prepared Remarks for the Meeting

**With US Ambassador to the Republic of Korea
and
Commander in Chief of the UNC, CFC, and USFK**

(April 24, 2009)

By

Senior Retired Generals of the ROK Military

GEN(Ret.) Paik, Sun-Yup

- Senior member of ROK military community

MG(Ret.) Park, Seh-Jik

- Chairman of the Korean Veterans Association

GEN(Ret.) Lee, Jong-Koo

**- President of Korea Retired Generals and Admirals
Association**

GEN(Ret.) Lee, Sang-Hoon

- Former Minister of National Defense

■ Introduction

By GEN(Ret.) Paik, Sun-Yup

<Appreciation for arranging the meeting>

* Ambassador Stephens, on behalf of all the members of the Korean Veterans Association, Korea Retired Generals and Admirals Association, and other security related organizations, I am deeply grateful to you for arranging this meaningful gathering.

* In particular, we are very happy to have a meeting for a frank dialogue with Ambassador Stephens, genuine friend of Korean people who calls Korea her second home.

<Purpose of today's dialogue>

* Today, we are here to express the sincere opinion of senior retired generals and most Korean people on the dismantlement of the Combined Forces Command (CFC).

<The decision of the CFC dismantlement was the result of anti-alliance policy by the previous pro-North and leftist government>

* Our strong ROK-US Alliance began to crumble when the pro-North and leftist government was established in the late 1990s. A case in point was the decision to dismantle the Combined Forces Command

* The early transfer decision of the Wartime OPCON scheduled in April 2012, which will also automatically dismantle the CFC, was an irresponsible and wrong policy made by the previous government.

< I sincerely hope that Korean people's desire should be conveyed to the US Government and Congress >

* In this regard, we would like to cordially ask you to understand our opinion and to help that the US Government and Congress also understand Korean people's expectation on this issue. Thank you very much!

**■ Military problems that dismantlement of the CFC will lead to.
By GEN(Ret.) Lee, Jong-Koo**

< Immediate military intervention of the US forces would be impossible in the time of emergency>

* The dismantlement of the CFC would mean the expiration of US direct responsibility for the defense of the Republic of Korea. According to the ROK-US Mutual Defense Treaty, when a war breaks out, one nation needs to get an approval from Congress or National Assembly following the constitutional process of each nation in order to enter into the war.

* So, we think that, as long as US Forces are not directly attacked, getting the approval from the US Congress would be unlikely.

※ Emergency Measures of US President are limited to cases that US Forces are directly attacked. Therefore, considering anti-war sentiment among American people and lack of US vital national interests on the Korean Peninsula, Getting an approval from the Congress would be unlikely.

※ Diplomatic pledges made in the peace time and taking part in a real war are two different things. We cannot forget the historical lessons that we learned from the fall of South Vietnam.

< Time Phased Forces Deployment Data (TPFDD), which is the core deterrent power, would lose its validity >

* TPFDD is a reinforcement list of the US Forces to the CFC, which holds the responsibility of the defense of the Republic of Korea. Therefore, TPFDD is not a fixed plan but just data for the purpose of planning.

* When the CFC is dismantled, the TPFDD will automatically cease to exist making it just a diplomatic rhetoric. As a result, there would be no guarantee of US Military reinforcement.

<No combined operational plan possible replacing current OPLAN 5027>

* OPLAN 5027 is a theater level OPLAN, a part of Pacific Theater OPLAN. The CFC executes the OPLAN and the Pacific Theater Command supports it.

* This OPLAN is established based on the commander's concept of operations, and this need to be constantly verified, corrected, and trained.

* Accordingly, under the situation that the command system is divided and available forces are fluid, the new OPLAN will be just one process derived from the dismantlement of the CFC.

< Executing a combined operation successfully with divided command authority is not feasible >

* 'One Theater One Commander' is a basic principle of war. Since the end of the Second World War, US Forces have never executed a combined operation when there is not a unified command.

* During the Korean War, even North Korean and Chinese Forces established a combined command for the unity of command.

* It does not make sense in the military professional's viewpoint that massive US combat troops will be put to the battlefield in which ROK Forces take the command and US Forces just take supporting roles without operational command authority.

< CFC dismantlement will lead to a loss of war deterrence and there would be no hope for USFK's continued presence on the Korean Peninsula in the long run>

* The CFC dismantlement would mean lifting US direct responsibility for the defense of the ROK and weaken the political and military cause for a long term station of US Forces on the Korean Peninsula.

* The issue of withdrawal or reduction of the USFK has long been a political task of every US administration from President Eisenhower administration.

* This issue has been connected to reduction plans of US Forces. With weakening capability to engage in conflicts worldwide, the US began to reappraise its world military strategy.

※ Win-Win Strategic Concept→Win Hold Win Strategic Concept

* One of the alternatives for this purpose has been ways to obtain strategic flexibility of the USFK suitable for unilateral reduction or withdrawal.

< CFC dismantlement will make stable management of the Armistice Agreement impossible >

* The Armistice Agreement was signed between the UNC and the Combined Command of China and DPRK. Commander of the CFC is also the commander of UNC. The ROK Government is not a party of the Agreement.

* The UNC, responsible for the management of the Armistice Agreement, maintains just a symbolic scale of organization. The management of the Armistice Agreement has been done by the CFC that support the UNC. When the CFC is dismantled, the UNC would operate as just UN peace keeping forces. In this case, the UNC cannot respond to North Korea's provocative violation of the Agreement.

* Poor management of the Armistice Agreement and accelerated security instability on the Korean Peninsula would be inevitable and it is highly likely that we may be driven by North Korea's threats of war.

< Defense Reform 2020 plan cannot secure the self defense capability of the ROK forces>

* Defense Reform 2020 was a hastily-made plan to water down the public opposition to the dismantlement of the CFC. This plan is a restructure plan based on 'Defense Restructuring Plan' in the Kim, Dae-Jung administration, which was scraped because of oppositions from the military.

* This plan is a unilateral arms reduction plan. It plans to reduce the number of military forces and units with partial increases of military equipment. And this is an impossible plan to realize from the beginning because it requires astronomical sum of money. Then leftist government deceived the public by announcing that it would invest 621,000,000,000,000 won for next 15 years.

* Even if Defense Reform 2020 would be completed successfully, it would still be impossible to obtain ROK Forces' capability to defend on its own.

■ The schedule for the CFC dismantlement should be reconsidered GEN(Ret.) Lee, Sang-Hoon

**< The schedule for the CFC dismantlement should be
reconsidered as soon as possible >**

* When US and ROK Forces withdrew from Vietnam in 1975 giving credit to the Treaty of Paris, free Vietnam soon collapsed.

* When President Carter began to implement his campaign pledge of withdrawing the USFK in phases, based on the lessons from Vietnam, our two nations minimized the withdrawal and agreed to establish the CFC considering the need for joint defense of the ROK.

**< Three situational changes that demand for change in the
schedule of the CFC dismantlement >**

**Firstly, the security situation has drastically changed from the
time when the transfer plan was agreed. So the schedule should
be reconsidered.**

* The Korean Peninsula is still under a cease-fire state and North Korea has never shown any sign of giving up its strategy to communize South Korea. North Korea is already armed with nuclear weapons and completed the test of long-range missiles to carry the weapons in the disguise of satellite launches. This development has been changing the basic security and military situation on the Korean Peninsula.

* In fact, 'North's nuclear weapon' has decisively destroyed the military balance between South and North Korea and made reunification of this nation based on free democracy virtually impossible because nuclear weapons and conventional weapons are entirely different.

* It is so obvious that any strategy, tactic, and military readiness based on conventional weapons cannot deal with nuclear-armed military power. In reality, North's nuclear armament is greatly limiting South Korea's military readiness posture against the North.

* Because of North's strategy to take South Korea as hostage with its nuclear weapons, it will be very difficult for South Korea to make active measures in order to punish or retaliate North's various provocations made with even conventional weapons.

* On the contrary, in an emergency, expecting military reinforcements from the US would be difficult when the CFC is dismantled. We can hardly expect immediate and active participation of US Forces in a war for which the US military has no direct responsibility and in which many US soldiers' lives would be at risk.

Secondly, while the ROK is exerting itself to overcome the global economic crisis, the CFC dismantlement excavate its economic difficulties.

* Astronomical sum of money will be needed in order to prepare for the CFC dismantlement. When an ally is in economic difficulties, it is not appropriate for the US to put 621,000,000,000,000 won of budgetary burden on the ROK's shoulders by dismantling the CFC.

* On the contrary, it is the right time for our two nations to sincerely discuss how to open the "ROK-US Strategic Alliance in the 21 Century." In this regard, our two nations should closely cooperate to overcome the conflicts arisen during last ten years. On the global security level, we should also discuss what the ROK can do for the world security and what the US can do for the ROK.

Thirdly, the year 2012 is never a right time for the CFC dismantlement.

* North Korea has been talking boastfully that it will achieve the goal of establishing a great power nation and communize the entire Korean Peninsula by 2012 when the CFC is scheduled to be dismantled. The year 2012 is also the presidential campaign period both in Korea and in the USA. In the year, it will be a transitional period for USFK because it would be moving Pyeongtaek.

* It will not be possible for the ROK Forces to build enough military capabilities by 2012. In particular, the next several years would be an instable and turbulent period more than ever before in terms of security situation on the Korean Peninsula.

* It is likely, in the next several years, that very important situation that will decide the fate of the Korean Peninsula could occur such as an emergency situation in North Korea. Without the CFC, in this case, our combined response capabilities will be greatly weakened.

* In this situation, many civil organizations are worried that the process of the CFC dismantlement is underway even though vulnerable security conditions and economic crisis are coupled at the same time.

* Especially, majority of senior members in the military community and security experts have expressed their deep concerns that the CFC dismantlement would make the ROK-US Alliance just a skeleton, and the dismantlement can become a big obstacle to both the security of the ROK and protection and development of the global free democracy.

< The right time for the CFC dismantlement is when the situation on and around the Korean Peninsula is stabilized and when it is fit for the US national interests >

* Even if the ROK Forces would build enough military capabilities, it is wise not to approach this issue hastily until the situation around the Korean Peninsula is stabilized, for instance, the ROK unifies the Korean Peninsula and China becomes a democratic country.

* I think that there is no need for the US to stick to the CFC dismantlement that may damage the backbone of the ROK-US Alliance.

< This issue should be an agenda at the summit talks >

* During his presidential campaign, President Lee, Myung-bak expressed his willingness to re-negotiate the wartime OPCON transfer plan because he was aware of this important issue that would lead to the CFC dismantlement.

* As the new US government came into power this year, the situation is ripe for reassessing the schedule of the CFC dismantlement.

* Most Korean people hope that the schedule of the CFC dismantlement should be reassessed and delayed. So I want to reiterate this Korean people's hope.

■ **Political implications of the CFC dismantlement**

By MG(Ret.) Park, Seh-Jik

< Introduction >

* In 1905, the Treaty of Portsmouth between Russia and Japan, along with Taft-Katsura Agreement that leftist groups has charged, allowed Japanese colonization of the Korean Peninsula. As a result, Korean people suffered great hardships for more than 40 years. There is another historic case that, in 1950, the declaration of 'Acheson Line' became an important cause of the Korean War.

* I am deeply concerned that the CFC dismantlement and early transfer of the Wartime OPCON on April 17, 2012 might lead to a similar consequence.

< In other words, the early transfer of wartime OPCON and CFC dismantlement can lead to the loss of decisive deterrence against North Korea. In this case, it should be carefully recognized that possibility of conflicts or communization of South Korea cannot be ruled out >

* North Korea is the most reckless and belligerent regime in the world. We cannot ignore the threat of all-out invasion from North Korea with its asymmetric military power such as nuclear weapons and missiles, and large scale of conventional military power. However, we must pay keen attention to North Korea's indirect invasion, too.

* It is estimated that there are 12,000 key activists and 320,000 sympathizers among pro-North groups in South Korea. They have constantly stirred up disgruntled group of four million people who are vulnerable to North's propaganda. They are organized groups that intend to destroy and topple the ROK with strong power exceeding that of the leftist groups after the nation's liberation on August 15, 1945.

* The CFC dismantlement and early transfer of wartime OPCON can encourage the North to pursue its strategy to communize South Korea. The North can vigorously seek to weaken or neutralize the ROK-US Alliance and to disrupt our rear area so that deployment of US ground forces are blocked. It can also actively stir up internal conflicts so that South Korea may collapse by itself or it communize it through a 'federation system' based on June 15th South-North Joint Declaration.

* North Korea has proclaimed that it will create a pro-North and leftist government in South Korea in 2012 when they will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the late Kim, Il-Sung's birthday and also when South Korea's presidential election will take place. To the end, North Korea is mobilizing all of its efforts and has secretly been supporting pro-North and leftist groups in South Korea.

* The CFC dismantlement and early transfer of wartime OPCON can strengthen the confidence of these pro-North groups and North Korea in their final victory and also encourage their desire to communize South Korea. As we saw in the case of Vietnam in which the Vietnam War ended in the communization of the entire Vietnam, we cannot rule out the possibility that CFC dismantlement and early transfer of wartime OPCON might lead to the communization of the entire Korean Peninsula in the end.

< Kim, Dae-Jung and Roh, Moo-Hyun administrations are not free from the charges that they benefited the enemy with anti-state, anti-constitution, and anti-national security law activities.

Therefore it is the right time to consider seriously turning back the agreements made with the pro-North and leftist >

* June 15th South-North Joint Declaration by Kim, Dae-Jung government in 2000 and October 4th South-North Joint Declaration by Roh, Moo-Hyun government in 2007 have posed serious challenges against the national security. They must have obtained approvals from the National Assembly or the people. Since they did not go through the process, those declarations are anti-state, anti-social acts violating existing laws.

* The two previous governments aided and abetted North's long-pursued scheme of instigating anti-American sentiments in order for USFK's withdrawal from South Korea. One clear example was the anti-American candlelight protests that continued for two years since two girl students died in a traffic accident by a US military vehicle in training. As a result of stirring up and deceiving the public, Roh, Moo-Hyun government, a pro-North and leftist government, was born.

* The anti-American sentiments among the Korean people and anti-Korean sentiments in the US damaged US's international image. In addition, with rising anti-Korean sentiments in the US, the Roh administration suggested the transfer of wartime OPCON under the banner of 'national pride,' and the US cannot but respond to the suggestion immediately.

* Even though the Lee, Myung-bak government, a conservative and pro-constitutional government, took power, social conditions for punishing the two have not ripe yet. However, these acts should face judgments of the people and history someday.

< When the ROK is communized or expanding Chinese power rules the Korean Peninsula, the noble sacrifices of the fallen

soldiers of the UN member nations including the US during the Korean War become in vain. The ROK, a miracle of the free democratic world that has risen to world 13th economic power from the ashes of the Korean War, might also collapse suddenly. We must be cautious against this possible tragedy >

< Therefore, we need to reconsider the 'CFC dismantlement agreement' in a way that both satisfies US needs and adjusts the schedule of the transfer of the Wartime OPCON >

* Our two nations already agreed to develop the ROK-US Alliance into a 'Strategic Alliance Relationship.' There are consensus that ROK Forces possess competitive strength in various international missions while the CFC is the best in deterring North's provocation and threat. We are well aware that an alliance means mutual supports. Therefore, the Republic of Korea should step up its roles in the international community, and security and patriotic organizations including the Korean Veterans Association will strongly support the move.

* There will be a summit meeting between the heads of our two nations in June this year. I think it will be a good opportunity to raise the issue of the CFC dismantlement. While we are driven by North' nuclear weapons and missiles these days, just continuing the CFC dismantling process cannot be a pleasant thing to do for both the ROK and the US, either.

* I understand General Sharp's position. However, I hope that you take into account the strong desire of majority of Korean people, security professionals to correct the wrong policy of the previous leftist government. They are even engaging in ten million signature seeking campaign against the OPCON Transfer Plan. So it is my sincere hope that you can convey Korean people's strong desire to the US Government, Congress and whole nation.